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ABSTRACT

This project was undertaken to provide more information on the condition of Asians. More specifically, it sought to: (1) obtain descriptive and demographic data on Asians; (2) determine the extent of usage of existing social services. Structural and attitudinal factors which facilitate or inhibit usage were examined; (3) identify what Asians perceive to be the needs of their community and explore the potential for organizing the community on the basis of these needs; again, various factors which may have contributed to this potential for organizing the community were examined; and, (4) collect data on the younger generation of Asians; in this way, a cross-generational comparison of attitudes and values could be made. The data were obtained from interviewing a sample of Asian families in the Sacramento area. In Sacramento, the three main groups of Asians are the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Filipinos. These are the only Asian groups included in the sample. A total of 302 families was interviewed: 148 were Chinese, 102 were Japanese, and 52 were Filipino. Two Chinese, one male and one female, and two Japanese, one male and one female, and one male Filipino were selected as interviewers. In all cases, these interviewers were bilingual. Each interviewer was responsible for interviewing his own ethnic group. (Author/JM)

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# A PROFILE OF ASIANS IN SACRAMENTO

Final Report

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UD 014036

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U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
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We wish to express our appreciation to the 302 families of the Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese communities in Sacramento for their participation and cooperation in this project.

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# INTRODUCTION

In the forties, Gunnar Myrdal accurately portrayed the American dilemma as one of a professed belief in equality and freedom of the individual, and at the same time, the systematic subversion of this creed by the white man's oppression of those they considered their racial inferiors. Myrdal optimistically concluded that this dilemma would have to be resolved soon. In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States ordered the desegregation of the public schools, citing Myrdal's work to support its decision. To all intent and purposes, the dilemma was about to be resolved. This illusion persisted through the early sixties with the passage of the civil rights bills.

Only after the passage of these bills did social scientists and laymen alike belatedly realize that civil rights do not mean equal rights, nor is the legal enforcement of racial integration an effective antidote to the old American dilemma. Robert Merton's distinction between the attitudinal and the behavioral components of an individual's psychological make-up offers an insight to this continuing dilemma. Prejudice as an attitude may or may not lead to action based on this attitude. On the other hand, discrimination, the behavioral counterpart of prejudice, can and does occur without prejudice. Civil rights legislation may have some effect on the level of discrimination, but it hardly comes to grips with the problem of prejudice.

Following the failure of civil rights to insure racial equality and with the rise of urban ghetto riots, optimism waned. Once again national

attention turns to the problems faced by black people to attempt a solution. The blacks in turn argue that the "problem" is one of a "white problem." The American dilemma deepens with the divergence of discourse between the blacks and the whites, and the growing acceptance of separatism and militance within the black communities.

With the blacks in the forefront of the national attention, Asians as a minority group become almost totally invisible. To the extent that they are recognized at all, they are used by whites in their rhetoric as middlemen. In addition to saying to blacks, "Why can't you be like me?", the whites often resort to, "Why can't you be like the Asians?" Stories of "success Japanese-style" flourish. The myth of the self-reliant Asian is thereby perpetuated. Asians become a tool of oppression used self-servingly by whites against other recalcitrant minority groups. The success of some Japanese and Chinese is taken to characterize all Asians and used as proof that the American creed is alive and well.

It is not that the majority of Asians have become integrated into the fabric of the white society, for the whites still think of Asians as different, an outsider as opposed to an insider, "they" as opposed to "we". In the black/white equation of race relations, Asians appear conveniently to be somewhere in-between. This view of Asians as a model minority is a relatively recent development. It has a more historical counterpart--that of the Asian as the "yellow peril," viewed as as much a threat to the American way as the blacks have been recently. The prevalence and strength of this attitude can be attested to by the way in which it surfaces as soon as there is any noticeable strain between whites and Asians, in foreign as well as domestic affairs.

These two stereotypes of Asians--as the model minority and as the "yellow peril"--co-exist side by side and appear to be the sum total of

most Americans' knowledge of Asians. As every social scientist is quick to point out, every stereotype serves some sort of function. In times of conflict, the image of the "yellow peril" serves to delineate the boundary of the in-group, the whites, versus the out-group, the Asians. It serves as the basis for mobilizing the in-group and as the foundation for a program of action against the out-group. In times of harmony, the image of the model Asian absolves the guilt of the white majority. If Asians can make it within a white society, then surely the locus of the problem of racial conflict is within the blacks and not the whites. More importantly, the image substitutes for knowledge. It justifies a systematic disregard of the concerns of Asians. It legitimizes an intolerance toward any change and a complacency with the status quo of the existing relations between Asians and whites.

It is difficult to decide which of the two stereotypes does more harm. The mere existence of the image of the "yellow peril" evokes feelings of marginality and insecurity among Asians. It encourages accommodation toward and active avoidance of competition with the whites. Witness the traditional "successful" occupational roles of the Chinese as restaurateur and laundryman and the Japanese as gardener. Against this background of insecurity and accommodation, the image of the model Asian is often adopted and encouraged by Asians themselves as an alternative. Thus, in interaction with whites, Asians may actually come to see themselves as the whites see them. Certainly the whites possess all the resources that a reference group can have in terms of power and economic rewards. In the symbolic interactionist framework, it would be most natural for Asians to adopt this looking-glass self of themselves and <u>act</u> accordingly.

A number of the older generation of Asians still cling to this image of being self-reliant and successful, despite evidence which points to the

false basis of this myth. Recently, however, there has been a surge of Asian awareness, spearheaded by a number of young Asians who are profoundly influenced by the ideological currents of the Third World communities. Asians have gradually begun to dissent and question the basis of their status and identity in a predominantly white society.

The emergence of dissent will probably bring about a new image as well as a different relationship between Asians and whites. Before any change can be brought about and receive any widespread support, Asians should be informed of the objective conditions of other Asians, their attitudes and values, their problems and needs.

This project was undertaken to provide more information on the condition of Asians. More specifically, it sought to:

1. Obtain descriptive and demographic data on Asians. Only through an accumulation of this type of information can this self-reinforcing Asian stereotype be broken. Hopefully, with more information, a new level of consciousness among Asians as well as whites can be brought about.

2. Determine the extent of usage of existing social services. Partially because of the Asian culture, but more generally because of self-reliant images imposed on them, Asians are known to be very hesitant about making use of available services. Structural and attitudinal factors which facilitate or inhibit usage will be examined.

3. Identify what Asians perceive to be the needs of their community and to explore the potential for organizing the community on the basis of these needs. Existing services may not meet the needs of the Asian community. With input from the community itself, meaningful programs can be planned. Again, various factors which may contribute to this potential for organizing the community will be examined.

4. Collect data on the younger generation of Asians. In this way, a cross-generational comparison of attitudes and values can be made. Questions as to the changes and the direction of these changes can be answered. The experience of each new generation is very much conditioned by the experience of the previous one. Each generation in coming into its own, constitutes a "fresh contact" with the existing culture. It is at this point that the possibility of change is greatest. The importance of the attitudes,

values and experience of this generation in its formative period cannot be exaggerated in acting as a socializing agent of the new generation and in its influence on relations between Asians and the majority society in the next several decades.

The data for the following report were obtained from interviewing a sample of Asian families in the Sacramento area. So far, the term "Asian" has been used very loosely to mean any person who claims a cultural tie to an Asian country. In Sacramento, the three main groups of Asians are the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Filipinos. These are the only Asian groups included in the sample. The term "Asian" will be used henceforth to refer to any or all three of these groups. In using the term, no assumption is made as to the basic similarity between these groups. It is recognized that each group has a different history and experience in this country and accordingly encounters different problems. These differences will be pointed out whenever they occur in the analysis.

The report which follows represents a compilation and analysis of the results of the interviews. Sections are organized around the four goals delineated in the preceding paragraphs. A description of the design of the study is provided in Section I.

## I. DESIGN OF THE STUDY

A sample of 302 Asian families in Sacramento was interviewed. Of the 302 families, 148 were Chinese, 102 were Japanese, and 52 were Filipino. The plan was to interview as many people within each family as possible, thus obtaining a sample which would permit cross-generational analysis and comparisons. The target individuals to interview in each family were:

1. The head of the family and spouse--father and mother
2. Grandparents
3. The two oldest dependent children

An assumption was made that no family would include the grandparents from both the maternal and paternal sides living under the same roof. Following this assumption, the total number of possible interviews per family ranged from one to six. The definition of "children" was "those 15 years or older living with and financially dependent on their parents."

The actual number of people interviewed per family was less than two, a figure much smaller than anticipated. This figure can be accounted for partially by the fact that very few grandparents lived with their children and their families. Rather than the traditional extended family type, the small nuclear family appears to be the norm. Also, not everyone who could have been interviewed was actually interviewed. Out of 148 Chinese families, 71 were "complete" families where both the father and the mother were interviewed. The corresponding figures for the Japanese and the Filipino sample were 45 and 30 respectively. The rest of the sample consisted of families where either the father or the mother, but not both, was interviewed. Usually in these families, one spouse refused to be interviewed

or was in some way not available. Quite a number of widows/widowers and single persons were also included, especially in the Japanese sample. There were very few children in the sample of 302 families. The definition of children excluded those under 15 years old, and children of college age, as often as not, were not living with their parents. The total number of the children's sample was 72: 50 Chinese, 12 Japanese, and 10 Filipinos. A combination of all of the above-mentioned factors produced a low figure for persons interviewed per family.

Families where everyone refused to be interviewed were few: 19 Chinese families, 17 Japanese families, and 6 Filipino families. Altogether, these amounted to a 14% refusal rate. However, with families who had moved or whom interviewers could not contact, the rate was as high as 50% of the total sample.

Selection of Interviewers

Two Chinese, one male and one female, and two Japanese, one male and one female, and one male Filipino were selected as interviewers. In all cases, these interviewers were bilingual. Each interviewer was responsible for interviewing his/her own ethnic group. Most of these interviewers came from the communities they were to interview in. Often ethnic communities feel exploited by research studies, thus every effort was made not only to hire interviewers from within the community, but also those who felt a certain responsibility toward their community and interest in the findings of the project.

Bilingual interviewers were necessary for two reasons: 1. Most of the first generation Asians do not speak English well, and some, not at all. It would have been very difficult to interview this group without using their respective native languages. The possibility of refusal could

have been much higher with just English-speaking interviewers. 2. It has been demonstrated that the more disparate the manners, speech, and dress between interviewer and interviewee, the more likely it is for the interviewee to put on a "front". With a bilingual interviewer of one's own ethnic group, the tendency of the interviewee to say what is thought to be expected of him would be reduced; thus, the interviewers were selected to maximize the rapport between them and the interviewees. It was hoped that this would increase the accuracy of the information obtained during the interview.

Selection of the Sample

The target area from which to select the sample was identified as Southside. Southside has the largest concentration of Chinese and Japanese residents. Also, since Southside is situated close to the downtown area and is an older section of town, it was felt that the problems and needs of the community would be more visible to and easily identifiable by the interviewees.

However, to select a sample, the universe had to be defined first; namely, a list of names of Asian residents in Southside. Following the failure to obtain names from any state or federal agency, the decision was made to pick out names from the Sacramento telephone directory. In addition, the interviewers were asked to go to various Asian organizations to obtain membership lists. Thus, it was hoped that the names of families without telephones could be obtained. The total number of lists obtained was small as most organizations did not keep membership lists. As a result, very few names were added to the sample made up from the telephone book.

The next problem was defining Southside. It was found that not one, but several definitions of the area exist, depending on the agency doing

the defining. The definition used by the Welfare Department was finally decided on. The Southside, according to this demarcation, is bounded on the east by 21st Street, on the south by Broadway, on the west by Front Street, and to the north by "I" Street. After these boundaries were drawn, the original list of families was divided into Southside and non-Southside residents. From the list of Southside residents, a systematic sample of Chinese and Japanese families was eventually selected. To insure the anonymity of the respondents, each was assigned a number. This number, instead of the respondent's name, was written in the interview schedule. After the interviewing was completed, only the project director retained a copy of the names that match the respondents' number.

There was a problem extracting Filipino names from the telephone book since many have Spanish surnames. Therefore, the names of Filipino families were obtained from a list compiled by a state-funded project seeking to determine whether Filipinos used family planning services. As most Filipinos were not concentrated in the Southside area, another area in Sacramento was picked, from which a systematic sample of Filipinos was selected.

The final sample cannot be considered a random sample for the following reasons:

1. The sample was biased in favor of people with listed telephone numbers. There was no way of determining how many people there were with no or unlisted phones.

2. Even with the sample selected, not every family was interviewed because of refusal or inability to contact the family.

The irregularity in choosing the Filipino sample should also be noted. Thus, the 302 families on which this report is based, are in a sense a selective sample. On the whole, however, little more could have been done to improve the sampling procedure without a disproportionate investment of time and money.

Construction of the Questionnaire

Initially, a number of questions were developed around areas of concern. As the focus of the investigation for the children and the adults of the family was slightly different, two different interview schedules were constructed. The adult's schedule was used to interview the father, the mother, the grandfather, and the grandmother; the child's schedule was used for the two oldest dependent children living with their parents.

To obtain information about the usage of social service organizations, a list of the most common ones in the Sacramento area was selected from a booklet compiled by the Community Services Planning Council, Inc. After the initial questions were devised, the project director met regularly with the research assistant and interviewers to discuss these questions. The purpose of each question and the information the project director hoped to obtain from each were presented to the interviewers, who were then asked to evaluate the value of each question according to these criteria. A number of questions were deleted, and the wording of the remaining questions was improved. A Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino interviewer were asked to translate the questionnaire into their native languages. The other Chinese and Japanese interviewer and the sister of the Filipino interviewer were responsible for translating the questionnaire back to English. With this procedure, the accuracy of the translation was determined.

The next step was to familiarize the interviewers with the questionnaire. Practice sessions were carried out where interviewers tried the questionnaire on each other. They were also asked to practice at home. During the practice sessions, certain fine points of the technique of interviewing were discussed; for example, the neutrality of tone in asking questions, and the neutrality of manner so as to refrain from showing

approval or disapproval to the answers of respondents. Whenever possible, the interviewers were to use the exact wording of the questionnaire. Questions arose as to what the interviewers should do when asked for clarification of questions or terms used. An attempt was made to anticipate any questions that might arise and to provide as standard an answer as possible. For example, the word "neighborhood" proved to be most troublesome. The respondent was to decide for himself/herself what the word meant. However, if asked, the interviewers were instructed to give the respondents a definition of the spatial boundaries of the interview areas.

At the end of these sessions, it was decided that the questionnaire was still too long. Taking over an hour to complete, it would have created an imposition on families where several members of the family were to be interviewed. Accordingly, the questionnaire was shortened further. At the request of Asian Community Services, questions concerning the Welfare Department, United Crusade, and the convalescent hospital and senior citizens' home were added.

The next consideration was how the questionnaire should be printed--with or without the Chinese, Japanese and Filipino translations below the English. It was decided that each interviewer would keep a copy of the translation with him/her and read from it whenever the interview was conducted in their native languages. The responses would be noted on the interview schedule which would be printed in English only, thus reducing the cost and time involved in producing three different bilingual schedules. The printing was postponed until the testing of the questionnaire was completed and this method tried out.

The Testing of the Questionnaire

A testing of the questionnaire was implemented for two reasons:

1. to evaluate the effectiveness of the questionnaire in a real situation, and

2. to determine the best way to approach the interviewee so as to minimize the refusal rate.

The testing was carried out outside of the interview areas. Each interviewer was assigned eight families. Four families were to be approached on the telephone; the interviewer was to explain the purpose of the study, then ask for a convenient time to interview the family. The second method was to approach the respondents directly, explain face-to-face the purpose of the study, then ask to interview them immediately or later, whichever time was more convenient. In both situations, the actual interview was preceded by giving the respondent a letter from the project director, which thanked them for participating, and at the same time guaranteed their anonymity. A third method was briefly discussed, but was never tested since it was very similar to the telephone method. This was to inform prospective families by mail of the study and its purpose, after which the interviewers would contact the family by phone and set a time and date for the interview.

Approaching the families directly was found to be more effective. On the telephone, the interviewers were rejected more easily and off-handedly. In establishing face-to-face contact, the respondents realized immediately that the interviewer was a member of their own ethnic group, and were generally more cooperative. Based on the testing, a projection of the refusal rate was made and the sample selected.

The main problem with the questionnaire after its testing was again its length. It was also discovered that with open-ended questions, the

interviewers had difficulty eliciting answers. Since the questionnaire was rather long, towards the end of the interview, the respondents became weary of the questions and refused to answer. Accordingly, the questionnaire was further shortened and some of the open-ended questions omitted. It was also reorganized so that the initial questions were mostly factual and easy to answer. In this way, the respondents could be gradually "eased into" the interview. The middle section consisted of what the project director considered "interesting" questions, while the last part consisted of data on employment and transportation which the respondents could answer without too much thought, even if he/she were getting tired at that point.

To encourage more participation, an article to inform Asian residents of Sacramento of the study was printed in the monthly newsletter of Asian Community Services.

The Interview

The actual interviewing was conducted over a period of four to five months, depending on the interviewer. The refusal rate was actually low, while the percentage of families who had moved or whom the interviewers could not contact was high.

Of the adult interviews, 88% of the Chinese sample were conducted in Chinese, 58% of the Japanese sample were done in Japanese, and 17% of the Filipino sample were completed in Filipino. Ninety-nine percent of the children's sample were administered in English. The time taken for the interview ranged from 30 minutes to 1 1/2 hours, with the median at about 45 minutes. The time taken for each interview decreased with the increasing experience of the interviewers. The interviewers reported that they were generally greeted warmly by the families, who often entertained them

with refreshments. The older respondents, especially, appeared glad to see the interviewers.

At the end of each interview, the interviewers were asked to rate the cooperativeness and interest of the respondent. Fifty-eight percent of the adult respondents were rated as being very cooperative, while only 3% were rated as uncooperative. Thirty-two percent of the adult respondents were rated as being very interested, and 25% were rated as not very interested. Data on the children showed that 68% were very cooperative, and 3% uncooperative; 44% were very interested and 15% uninterested. From these figures, it can be concluded that although the respondents might not have been very interested in the purpose or content of the study, they were nevertheless very helpful in their participation, especially the younger generation. This impression was reinforced by the comments and suggestions made by the respondents at the end of the interview. Even though few respondents commented, those comments made were favorable. The most typical negative statement made was that the interview was too long.

The major problem with the interviews was the number of "no response" to open-ended questions. After the initial period, the interviewers were asked to probe more persistently for answers to these questions. They were generally hesitant about doing so, and it was left to each interviewer to determine the point at which the probing became unethical and the answers artificial.

The respondents participating in the study were asked if they would be interested in receiving a summary of the results after the study was completed. Fifty-three percent of the adults and 61% of the children indicated interest in the findings.

Coding

The coding and transferring of information onto IBM cards took two a and one-half months. During the coding period, it was discovered that some answers not provided for by the categories of certain closed-ended questions, occurred regularly. Whenever they occurred, new categories were added. (See codebook for coding of closed-ended questions.)

The coding for open-ended questions was done in the following manner: First, answers to all the open-ended questions were read by the project director and research assistant in about 30% of the interviews. Next, a list of possible coding categories was compiled on the basis of the reading. These categories represented the type of responses generally given. All the open-ended questions were then coded according to these categories. Some modifications became necessary as the coding progressed. (See codebook for coding of open-ended questions.)

A list of the persons interviewed in each family is presented in Appendix A. Appendix B includes the English version, and the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino translations of the adults' and children's interview schedules.

## II. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES

Descriptive, demographic data for the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos will be discussed in this section. The over-all impression obtained from the data is that the sample consists of a large proportion of elderly people, the majority of whom are first generation and retired. As age is highly correlated with education, a large proportion of the sample have less than a high school education and do not speak English very well. A related aspect is their income, which is below the median income level for Sacramento County according to the 1970 census. Unemployment is especially a problem for the Chinese. Most men who are working, work outside of their neighborhood, thus presenting a slightly different picture from that of an insulated and economically self-sufficient neighborhood.

Despite the low economic resources they have at their disposal, Asians appear to be fairly well integrated into their communities. Quite a number of them are satisfied with their housing, interact with their neighbors, and appear to like the neighborhood they live in. Transportation is problematic, especially for the elderly Japanese. Most of them do not have cars and have difficulty using public transportation. All these data are presented in more detail below.

### Age Distribution of the Sample

The age of the Chinese respondents ranges from 21 to 84, with the modal age of 40-49. The age of the Japanese respondents ranges from 23 to 92. The distribution is bimodal, peaking at 50-59 with 25% and at 70-79 with 24% of the respondents. The youngest Filipino interviewed is 24, the

oldest 75. The highest concentration, 34%, of the Filipino sample is within the 60-69 age category. The next highest is 24%, within the 50-59 category. See Table 2.1 for the age distribution of the sample.

TABLE 2.1

Age Distribution by Ethnicity

| Age | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 20-29 | 11% | 4% | 7% |
| 30-39 | 16% | 7% | 11% |
| 40-49 | 27% | 14% | 15% |
| 50-59 | 20% | 25% | 29% |
| 60-69 | 12% | 14% | 34% |
| 70-79 | 11% | 24% | 4% |
| 80-89 | 3% | 11% | 0% |
| 90-99 | 0% | 1% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

The Chinese sample is younger on the whole than the Japanese or Filipino sample, reflecting 1) the continual immigration of Chinese to this country, and 2) the tendency of the younger Chinese to remain within the community. The Chinese immigrants, though young, are usually handicapped by their inability to speak English. Thus, they tend to congregate within the Southside where interaction and work requiring English is at a minimum. A low cost housing project, situated in Southside, absorbs a large number of these immigrant families. Secondly, the age composition of the Chinese sample may simply reflect the attachment of the younger people to the neighborhood and their unwillingness to move away. Or it can mean

that the younger Japanese and Filipinos are assimilating at a faster rate, moving into more middle-class neighborhoods. Partial evidence for the first argument is found in the responses to the question, "If you had a choice, would you move outside of your neighborhood?" in the children's questionnaire. Fewer Chinese young people indicated willingness to move away, 38%, as opposed to 40% of the Filipinos and 50% of the Japanese. Again, more of the Chinese youth, 28%, expressed indecision saying that they "don't know" compared to 20% of the Filipino and 25% of the Japanese children.

Generation and Citizenship

That the Chinese sample consists of a large proportion of immigrants is evident from the following statistics: 93% of the Chinese, 87% of the Filipinos, and 49% of the Japanese are first generation. More of the Filipinos are U. S. citizens though - 85%, compared to 74% of the Japanese and 51% of the Chinese.

Sex, Marital Status, and Number of People in the Household

In all but the Filipino sample, more females than males were interviewed. The sex ratio is highest in the Japanese sample, almost two females to one male interviewed. As was expected, most of the sample are married: 84% of the Chinese, 84% of the Filipino, and 67% of the Japanese. A relatively large percentage of the Japanese sample are widowed, 16%, and single, 12%.

The typical household of the Japanese and Chinese consists of a couple. For the Filipinos, the norm appears to be three people per family. Interestingly enough, for the Chinese, the next most frequently occurring household is made up of five persons per family. See Table 2.2 for household composition.

TABLE 2.2

Number of People in the Household by Ethnicity

| Number of People | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 6% | 24% | 0% |
| 2 | 25% | 44% | 13% |
| 3 | 16% | 18% | 26% |
| 4 | 13% | 9% | 18% |
| 5 | 18% | 4% | 6% |
| 6 | 12% | 0% | 10% |
| 7 | 5% | 1% | 7% |
| 8 | 2% | 0% | 9% |
| 9 and over | 3% | 0% | 11% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

Considering the sample, the small household is to be expected. Most of the children of people age 50 and over in the United States are married, or otherwise living apart and independently of their parents. Asians, although having come from a tradition of extended families, appear to have adopted this more Western trend.

Language

A surprising 93% of the Chinese, 81% of the Filipinos, and 66% of the Japanese do not consider English their native tongue. When asked how well they speak English, 38% of the Chinese replied that they do not speak nor understand English at all. Only 7% of the Japanese and no Filipinos fall into this category.

The ability to speak English and speak it well is a partial indicator of how much discrimination an ethnic group encounters, aside from their

physical characteristics. An Asian who cannot speak English very well is unlikely to find work paying at better than subsistence level. He/she is also unlikely to be able to find housing outside of the ethnic community regardless of whether he/she wants to or not. The Asian children of the sample appear to be well aware of this problem. When asked, "Do you think that special English courses should be offered in every school for immigrant children of different ethnic origins?", 83% of the Japanese, 96% of the Chinese, and 100% of the Filipinos replied that they do.

It is clear that a program of English language instruction for the elderly and the young immigrants is a necessity. Admittedly, this will not tackle the more deep-seated racial problems, but this is at least a step toward the right direction.

Education

Of the three groups, the Chinese have the lowest level of educational attainment, with 50% having less than an 8th grade education and two-thirds less than a high school education. The Filipinos have the next highest percentage of those not finishing the eighth grade, but also the highest percentage of those who have had some college, graduated from college, or have done graduate work. Table 2.3 presents the level of educational attainment by ethnicity.

TABLE 2.3

Educational Attainment by Ethnicity

| Education | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than grades 1-8 | 50% | 14% | 34% |
| Grade 8 completed | 7% | 12% | 4% |
| More than grade 8, but less than high school | 12% | 18% | 9% |
| High school completed | 13% | 35% | 15% |
| Some college | 11% | 13% | 23% |
| Four-year college completed | 6% | 6% | 7% |
| Graduate school | 1% | 1% | 7% |
| No answer | 0% | 1% | 1% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

The low educational achievement of the Japanese and Filipinos is linked with age--regardless of ethnicity, older people are less educated than younger ones. The educational level of the Chinese can be accounted for by a second factor--the proportion of newly-arrived immigrants in the sample.

Employment and Income

Employment and income are affected by a number of factors: 1) education, 2) facility in English, 3) citizenship status, and 4) discrimination. Table 2.4 gives the employment status of the male of the three groups.

TABLE 2.4

Employment of Males by Ethnicity

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Full-time | 58% (76%) | 57% (87%) | 52% (85%) |
| Part-time | 9% (11%) | 5% ( 8%) | 10% (15%) |
| Unemployed | 10% (13%) | 3% ( 5%) | 0% |
| Retired | 23% | 35% | 38% |
| | 100% (n=104) | 100% (n=60) | 100% (n=40) |

The percentage of full-time employment is approximately the same for all groups. The Filipino sample includes the highest percentage of part-time workers, while the Chinese sample has the highest percentage of those unemployed. These figures have been recomputed on the basis of Asians who are in the labor market; i.e., excluding those who are retired. These figures are in parentheses on the same table. The Filipinos in the sample are all employed, either full-time or part-time. The Japanese have approximately the same proportion of unemployed as the 1970 census figure for Sacramento County - 4.8%. The Chinese, however, have almost three times as high an unemployment rate.

Asian women in the sample work to supplement their family income. Table 2.5 presents the employment data for the three groups.

TABLE 2.5

Employment of Females by Ethnicity

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Full-time | 8% | 29% | 45% |
| Part-time | 15% | 7% | 5% |
| Unemployed | 28% | 2% | 2% |
| Retired | 17% | 31% | 3% |
| Homemaker | 32% | 31% | 45% |
| | 100% (n=122) | 100% (n=93) | 100% (n=40) |

Forty-five percent of the Filipino women in the sample work full-time compared to 29% of the Japanese and 8% of the Chinese women. More Chinese women work part-time than Japanese or Filipino women. Women who classified themselves as unemployed are those who have to but cannot find work. A large percentage, 28%, of the Chinese women fall into this category. The percentage of homemakers is much lower than for the whites, especially considering the age distribution. In conclusion, fewer Asian women can afford to stay home and not work.

The employment data do not reveal the full economic situation of the Chinese. Tables 2.6 and 2.7 present the income distribution. Table 2.7 gives separate statistics for those who are self-employed, while Table 2.6 gives the combined figures. These tables include only males who are working full-time or part-time. If data on the retired and unemployed were available, the distribution would be weighed more heavily on the lower end. Compare these tables to Table 2.8, the 1970 census data for Sacramento County. The median income of each group is lower than that for the County.

The Chinese deviate radically in their income, not only from the county data, but also from the Japanese and Filipinos. Twenty-one percent make less than $3,300. It should also be noted that Table 2.8 provides income statistics for all ethnic groups. If the comparison were made between whites and Asians, the discrepancy in incomes would be more obvious. The economic situation of the Chinese is nothing short of critical. As for the Japanese and the Filipinos, even though they are better off than the Chinese, they are still not doing as well as could be expected of a "successful and integrated" minority group.

TABLE 2.6

Income by Ethnicity

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than $3,300 | 21 % | 8% | 8% |
| $3,300 to $6,000 | 36 % | 8% | 19% |
| $6,001 to $9,000 | 21 % | 40% | 27% |
| $9,001 to $12,000 | 9 % | 14% | 27% |
| $12,001 to $15,000 | 9 % | 8% | 15% |
| Over $15,000 | 1.5% | 8% | 0% |
| No answer | 2.5% | 14% | 4% |
| | 100 % | 100% | 100% |
| | (n=67) | (n=37) | (n=26) |

TABLE 2.7

Income of Employed, Self-Employed by Ethnicity

| | Chinese | | Japanese | | Filipino | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *S-E | **E | SE | E | SE | E |
| Less than $3,300 | 15.3% | 22 % | 5.5% | 11% | 0% | 8% |
| $3,300 to $6,000 | 15.3% | 41 % | 11 % | 5% | 0% | 21% |
| $6,001 to $9,000 | 15.3% | 22 % | 33 % | 47% | 50% | 25% |
| $9,001 to $12,000 | 15.3% | 7.5% | 5.5% | 21% | 0% | 29% |
| $12,001 to $15,000 | 15.3 | 7.5% | 11 % | 5% | 50% | 13% |
| Over $15,000 | 8 % | 0 % | 17 % | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| No answer | 15.5% | 0 % | 17 % | 11% | 0% | 4% |
| | 100 % (n=13) | 100 % (n=54) | 100 % (n=18) | 100% (n=19) | 100% (n=2) | 100% (n=24) |

*S-E - Self-Employed
**E - Employed

TABLE 2.8

Income of Sacramento County, 1970 Census

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than $3,000 | 7% |
| $3,000 to $5,999 | 14% |
| $6,000 to $8,999 | 19% |
| $9,000 to $11,999 | 35% |
| $12,000 to $14,999 | 20% |
| Over $15,000 | 5% |
| | 100% (n=161,765) |

Sacramento County Median Income = $10,566

Chinese who are self-employe
ed tend to employ other Asians and work within their neighborhood; Japane
ese in the sample who are self-employed generally work outside of their n
neighborhood and do not have employees. In cases where they do have emplo
oyees, however, they are as likely to be non-Asians as they are to be Asia
ans. Very few of the Filipinos are self-employed. Those who are not self
f-employed tend to hold jobs outside of their neighborhood. Except for t
the Chinese, the fellow employees of Japan-ese and Filipinos are more likely
y to be non-Asians. Asians who are self-employed generally have higher in
ncomes than those who are not. See Table 2.7.

Housing

Forty-nine percent of the Ch
hinese, 57% of the Japanese, and 87% of the Filipinos live in houses. Fo
orty-seven percent of the Chinese, 44% of the Japanese, and 83% of the Fili
ipinos own their residences. It would be interesting to compare these figu
ures to a comparable Caucasian age sample. Thirty-five percent of the Chines
se have lived in the Southside area from two to five years, while 25% have
ve lived there for over 10 years. Most of the Japanese and Filipinos, howev
ver, have lived over 10 years in their neighborhood. Again those figure
es are to be expected from the recent immigrant status of the Chinese and t
the age distributions of the three groups.

Most of the Chinese, Japanes
se and Filipinos are satisfied with their housing, with more of the Filipi
no sample expressing satisfaction than the others. However, for the Chines
se and Japanese, there appears to be a slight polarization of feelings.
They tend to express themselves as being very dissatisfied rather than jus
st dissatisfied--14% of the Chinese and 16% of the Japanese fall into thi
his category.

Only 2% of the Chinese, 3% of the Japanese, and 10% of the Filipinos indicated that they have encountered discrimination in finding housing outside of their neighborhood. Discrimination can be expressed in more subtle ways, however. People may be discouraged from even looking outside of their neighborhood to avoid a direct confrontation with discrimination. Accordingly, a disproportionate number--58% of the Chinese, 31% of the Japanese, and 32% of the Filipinos--said that they have not even tried finding housing outside of their neighborhoods. A closer look at how Asians in the sample went about looking for housing presents more evidence for this viewpoint.

Out of feelings of inferiority or fear of a rebuff, Asians would be expected to go about their looking in a different way. Most Caucasians would either read the newspaper or go to an agency, whereas 72% of the Chinese and 55% of the Japanese found their residences through friends or relatives. The information gained through a relative/friend would give particulars which cannot be obtained elsewhere; for example, whether the landlord or the neighbors are "all right." In addition, due to their inability to speak or write English, they would also be less likely to read a newspaper or go through an agency. The Filipinos present a slightly different picture. Thirty-eight percent of them went through an agency, while only 23% of them went through friends and relatives.

Neighborhood

Most of the three groups indicated that they know some of their neighbors. Ten percent of the Chinese, 27% of the Japanese, and 37% of the Filipinos said that they know most of their neighbors. This question is, of course, closely related to the degree of satisfaction with housing, and

more Filipinos expressed satisfaction with their housing than either the Japanese or Chinese. When asked what they like most about their neighborhood, the Filipinos indicated "friendly neighbors" more than any other reason. The physical setting of their neighborhood--the trees, parks, etc.--is the most frequent response of the Chinese sample. Closely rivaling this as the main reason is the proximity to relatives, friends, and Chinese grocery stores. Almost half of the Japanese sample, 48%, also gave this as their main reason for liking the neighborhood.

When asked what they like least about their neighborhood, 74% of the Filipinos, 67% of the Chinese, and 62% of the Japanese answered, "nothing." On the whole, the people appear to be well-integrated into their community; they know their neighbors, like a lot of things about their neighborhood, and have few complaints about it.

Transportation

Transportation appears to be a problem for many Asians. Only 43% of the Chinese have driver's licenses. The corresponding percentages for the Japanese and Filipinos are 50% and 74%. As to be expected, 48% of the Chinese who do not have driver's licenses also do not know English. Forty-seven percent of the Japanese gave their old age as the reason for not having a license. Thirty-five percent of the Filipinos said that they have no opportunity to learn.

Thirty-one percent of the Chinese families, 38% of the Japanese families, and 10% of the Filipino families do not have cars. Only two Chinese families and one Japanese family with a working head of the family do not have a car. The rest of those employed own cars. Unfortunately, it appears that old age and unemployment are further complicated by problems of transportation.

## III. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS: PROFILE OF THE USAGE OF SOCIAL SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Certain needs can be anticipated from what is known of the demographic profile of the Asians in this sample; for example, their old age, low income level, and high unemployment rate. However, very few social services designed to meet these needs exist in Sacramento. Of the services available, little is known if Asians use them. This section deals with the frequency of usage of these existing services and factors which might influence their usage.

Historically, Asians have utilized their own family, prefectural, and fraternal associations for some of the necessary services. The existence and maintenance of these self-help groups can be accounted for partially in that Asians feared complete exclusion if they called too much attention to themselves and their problems. Pride in a certain sense of self-reliance might also have been a factor. However, this system of self-help works only when a group has enough resources at its disposal and with a small number of members in the group. Presently, neither of these conditions are met in the three groups. Ultimately, Asians will have to turn to wider-based community organizations for necessary services.

As can be seen from the following data, some of the people are beginning to do this. But the Chinese, the group needing services most according to the data, are the group least likely to take advantage of them. Two types of factors which facilitate usage are analyzed: structural and attitudinal. Certain recommendations emerge from this analysis. First,

the organizations should publicize their available services more and through as many channels as possible. This way, the information has a better chance of filtering through to the segment of the Asian population who need these services. Secondly, bilingual services should be provided so that Asians can better make use of the services. And thirdly, Asians should be made aware that problems they encounter are partially problems emanating from the whites' treatment of minority groups, and that the white society should also assume responsibility toward providing economic resources for solving these problems.

Relationship between Number of Organizations Heard of and Number Used

A list of 24 of the most common social service organizations was composed from a booklet compiled by the Community Services Planning Council, Inc. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had heard of any of these organizations. Eighty-one percent of the Filipinos, 45% of the Japanese, and 29% of the Chinese had heard of 10 or more of them. Twelve percent of the Chinese, 3% of the Japanese, and 1% of the Filipinos had never heard of any of these organizations.

Statistics for the usage of services of these organizations are as follows:

1. Thirteen percent of the Filipinos have not used any of these organizations, while 13% have used one to six or more of these organizations for services. The modal category is two organizations used.

2. Thirty-five percent of the Japanese have not used any of these organizations. This seems to be the typical behavior pattern. None of the Japanese have used more than five organizations.

3. Typically, Chinese do not use the services of these organizations. Forty-two percent of them have not used any of them, while only 1% have used the services of over five of these organizations.

The Filipinos appear to be most knowledgeable about service organizations, and the Chinese the least. Judging from the employment and income data, the Chinese appear to be more in need of services. But as Table 3.1 indicates, most of them have not used any.

Knowledge of these organizations constitutes a first step toward the usage of the services when the need arises. The more organizations people have heard of, the more likely it is that they will use their services. This relationship, even though not a strong one, exists. The correlation coefficient for the number of organizations heard of and the number of organizations used is .25 for the Chinese, .14 for the Japanese, and .32 for the Filipinos. Thus, organizations should publicize their existence in order to serve their constituency more efficiently.

Structural Factors Affecting the Use of Service Organizations

A look at the column marginals of Table 3.1 shows that there is a great difference between the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos in their sources of information about these organizations. Forty-eight percent of the Chinese first obtained their information through friends and relatives, what is considered here as private sources. Only 18% of the Filipinos obtained their information thus. Forty-five percent of the Filipinos arrived at their information through public sources, such as the newspaper, information disseminated through organizations, a social worker, etc., as opposed to 23% of the Chinese and Japanese. Again, more Japanese and Filipinos than Chinese became aware of these organizations through more than one of these sources.

In order to explore the effect of sources of information on the use of service organizations, a cross tabulation of these two variables is

TABLE 3.1

Number of Organizations Used According to the Source of Information

| Knowledge of social service organizations through: | | Number of Organizations Used: None | 1-2 | 3-4 | 5-6 | Over 6 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Private sources: | Chinese | 36% | 34% | 23% | 6% | 1% | (48%) 100% |
| Friends, relatives | Japanese | 23% | 61% | 16% | 0% | 0% | (37%) 100% |
| | Filipino | 7% | 47% | 33% | 0% | 13% | (18%) 100% |
| Public sources: | Chinese | 42% | 37% | 19% | 2% | 0% | (23%) 100% |
| Publicity of the organizations, newspaper, social worker, etc. | Japanese | 51% | 29% | 11% | 9% | 0% | (23%) 100% |
| | Filipino | 16% | 35% | 32% | 14% | 3% | (45%) 100% |
| Multiple sources: | Chinese | 14% | 27% | 51% | 8% | 0% | (16%) 100% |
| Private and public sources | Japanese | 31% | 48% | 16% | 5% | 0% | (38%) 100% |
| | Filipino | 4% | 23% | 38% | 23% | 12% | (32%) 100% |
| No answer/don't know | Chinese | 97% | 3% | 0% | 0% | 0% | (13%) 100% |
| | Japanese | 100% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | ( 3%) 100% |
| | Filipino | 75% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 25% | ( 5%) 100% |
| Total | Chinese | 42% | 30% | 24% | 4% | 0% | 100% (n=226) |
| | Japanese | 35% | 47% | 14% | 4% | 0% | 100% (n=153) |
| | Filipino | 13% | 32% | 33% | 13% | 9% | 100% (n=82) |

shown in Table 3.1. Some interesting comparisons can be made. First, if usage is dichotomized into "yes" and "no," then Asians who obtained their information through multiple sources were more likely to use these organizations. Only 14% of the Chinese, 31% of the Japanese, and 4% of the Filipinos in this category have not used any of the organizations. Information from friends and relatives are next in order of effectiveness. Information obtained through only one public source is least likely to lead to usage. Accordingly, 42% of the Chinese, 51% of the Japanese, and 16% of the Filipinos who obtained their information through one public source have not used any services. Asians who do not know where they obtained their information are the least likely to utilize any of the services of organizations. Thus, effectiveness of information can be ordered in this manner: 1) multiple sources, 2) private sources, 3) public sources, 4) no source. The Japanese, however, have a slightly different ordering: private source is even more effective than multiple sources.

The source of information appears to also have some effect on how many organizations the Chinese and Filipinos have used; multiple sources lead to the utilization of more services. For the Japanese, however, there seems to be no consistent relationship.

Some tentative conclusions can be drawn from these comparisons. Usage appears to be affected by two different factors. First, the number of sources, and therefore the more information a person has, the more he can make use of the services of these organizations. Secondly, the nature of the source appears to be influential too, as can be seen from the comparison of private and public sources. The seeming effectiveness of private sources may represent two different aspects which cannot be determined from our data. Private sources may actually be more informative than public

sources, or they may represent validation or legitimation to use these services from a person's reference group.

Since quite a number of Chinese, and some Japanese responded that they do not speak or understand English, it would be expected that usage would be increased if some kind of bilingual services were provided. Table 3.2 gives a tabulation of the answers according to ethnicity. The percentage of each group saying that they would use the services if bilingual services were provided is proportionate to the percentage in each group who do not speak English very well.

TABLE 3.2

The Need for Bilingual Services by Ethnicity

Would you be more likely to use the services of organizations if bilingual services were provided?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 80% | 60% | 45% |
| No | 6% | 13% | 12% |
| Don't know/ not applicable | 14% | 27% | 43% |
| Total | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

When asked if they would be more likely to use the service organizations if a member of the respondent's ethnic group were working in the organizations, most of the respondents replied affirmatively. There is also less difference between the three groups in the answers to this question than to the previous one. See Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3

Presence of Asian Worker by Ethnicity

Would you be more likely to use their services if there is a member of one's ethnic group working in these organizations?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 85% | 72% | 72% |
| No | 7% | 19% | 15% |
| Don't know/ not applicable | 8% | 9% | 13% |
| Total | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

A conclusion that can be drawn from these data is that if a service organization is to reach that segment of the population it purports to serve, then bilingual services should be provided and made known to Asians.

Attitude toward Welfare Services

A number of questions were designed to measure the Asians' attitude toward welfare services. Two questions were selected as representing two different aspects of this attitude: 1) the shame which may be associated with being on welfare, and 2) the idea that Asians do not need welfare services because they can take care of their own. Tables 3.4 and 3.5 show the answers to these two questions.

TABLE 3.4

Attitude toward Welfare Services by Ethnicity

If my family is on welfare, my friends will look down on us.

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 4% | 4% | 5% |
| Agree | 32% | 29% | 23% |
| Neutral | 23% | 14% | 18% |
| Disagree | 37% | 40% | 43% |
| Strongly disagree | 2% | 3% | 7% |
| No comment | 2% | 10% | 4% |
| Total | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

TABLE 3.5

Attitude toward Welfare Services by Ethnicity

Most Asians take care of their own and do not need welfare services.

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Strongly agree | 2% | 3% | 15% |
| Agree | 43% | 37% | 71% |
| Neutral | 31% | 12% | 5% |
| Disagree | 20% | 39% | 5% |
| Strongly disagree | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| No comment | 3% | 8% | 4% |
| Total | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

These attitudes, though not directly related to attitudes toward social services, nevertheless influence usage by inhibiting it. If a person thinks

that his friends will look down on him if he is on welfare, or if he thinks that Asians do not need welfare services, then it is unlikely that he will make extensive use of social services even when necessary. Interestingly enough, in all three groups, the inhibiting attitude toward welfare is counter-balanced by their realization of the groups' objective condition.

The Chinese, more than any other group, feel that their friends will look down on them if they are on welfare. However, they are also the group most aware of the limited resources of the group and that they need welfare services. Most of the Filipinos disagree that they will be looked down on, but most of them also said that they don't need welfare services.

Attitudes Facilitating/Inhibiting Use

When a minority group realizes that a lot of the problems that they face are compounded by prejudice and discrimination, then perhaps, it will realize that these problems cannot be resolved solely within its own group. This recognition of discrimination may then lead to seeking help outside of one's own family and ethnic group. It follows that people who are aware that their problems are partially a result of discrimination, through no fault of their own, are more likely to use the services of the available organizations. In examining the responses to the statement, "The (Chinese) (Japanese) (Filipinos) are discriminated against in housing, employment, etc," over 2/3 of the Chinese agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. One-third of the Filipinos and less than 1/3 of the Japanese fall into this category. Considering the experience of the Japanese during World War II, it is surprising that fewer than 1/3 of the Japanese agreed with this statement.

The recognition of common bonds between all ethnic groups is expected to facilitate the use of service organizations. A good indication of this attitude can be found in the responses to the statement, "Asian ethnic groups and non-Asian ethnic groups are faced with similar problems; therefore, they should work together toward common goals." Sixty-two percent of the Filipinos, 41% of the Chinese, and 36% of the Japanese agreed with the statement.

A simultaneous analysis of the four factors -- 1) bilingual services, 2) the number of organizations heard of, 3) recognition of the common bonds between all ethnic groups, and 4) recognition of discrimination -- was carried out to determine which factor is most important in influencing usage. Structural factors appear to be most important for both Japanese and Filipinos. For the Japanese, provision for bilingual services is most likely to lead to increased usage (partial correlation coefficient of .21). For the Filipinos, the higher the number of organizations heard of,the more likely the usage (partial correlation coefficient of .45). Not recognizing common bonds between all ethnic groups counts most for the Chinese. It effectively prevents usage (partial correlation coefficient of -.35).

among most Asians. Their acceptance of other Asians, however, does not generally extend to intermarriage with them. But this should not present a serious problem for organizing. In fact, Asians, judging from the data, subscribe to the notion of cultural pluralism, where different ethnic groups live together consensually while retaining their own cultures. All of the these factors will be presented in more detail in this section.

Perceived Socio-Economic Status of the Neighborhood

Indices of the perceived socio-economic status of the neighborhood were constructed to determine how well Asians think other fellow Asians are doing in the neighborhood. This would allow for a comparison between the objective status indicated by the employment, income and educational data, and the subjective or perceived status of each group. Responses to these questions can also attest to the strength of the myth that Asians are well integrated into the dominant society. The wider the discrepancy between the objective and subjective status, the stronger the myth. The following are tabulations of each index of the perceived neighborhood socio-economic status.

TABLE 4.1

First Index of Perceived Neighborhood Socio-Economic Status by Ethnicity

Do you think that the (Chinese) (Japanese) (Filipino) families in your neighborhood have:

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. a higher average income than Caucasians | 2% | 5% | 2% |
| 2. the same as Caucasians | 14% | 38% | 74% |
| 3. slightly lower than Caucasians | 32% | 32% | 15% |
| 4. much lower than Caucasians | 40% | 3% | 4% |
| 5. no opinion | 12% | 22% | 5% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

TABLE 4.2

Second Index of Perceived Neighborhood Socio-Economic Status by Ethnicity

Do you think that the (Chinese) (Japanese) (Filipino) in your neighborhood are:

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. More highly educated than the Caucasians | 10% | 16% | 4% |
| 2. The same as the Caucasians | 22% | 42% | 73% |
| 3. Slightly less educated than the Caucasians | 35% | 18% | 9% |
| 4. Much less educated than the Caucasians | 21% | 5% | 4% |
| 5. No opinion | 12% | 19% | 10% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

TABLE 4.3

Third Index of Perceived Neighborhood Socio-Economic Status by Ethnicity

Do you think that the jobs most (Chinese) (Japanese) (Filipinos) in your neighborhood have are:

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. More prestigious than those of the Caucasians | 3% | 3% | 1% |
| 2. As prestigious as those of the Caucasians | 18% | 41% | 65% |
| 3. Slightly less prestigious than those of the Caucasians | 30% | 31% | 9% |
| 4. Much less prestigious than those of the Caucasians | 38% | 3% | 10% |
| 5. No opinion | 11% | 22% | 15% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

The Chinese expressed the lowest subjective ratings, then the Japanese, while the Filipinos indicated the highest. Their subjective standings correspond with the direction of their objective standings when the three groups are compared to each other. In other words, the Filipinos are doing better than either the Chinese or Japanese, and accordingly rated themselves better.

However, when compared to Caucasians, their average income, education and job prestige are lower. To the extent that Asians believe they are doing as well as or even better than Caucasians in any or all of these categories, they are sustaining the myth of Asian success in this country. All three groups have a proportion of people who hold this belief. In all three indices, there are more Japanese and Filipinos saying that on the average, they are doing as well as or better than the Caucasians than people who think they are doing worse. Since more Japanese and Filipinos believe that they are doing well, they would be less aware of the needs of their people, the number of people not rating the neighborhood needs corresponding proportionately to these numbers. Thus, only 13% of the Chinese, as opposed to 22% of the Japanese, and 30% of the Filipinos did not do the ratings discussed below.

Rating of Neighborhood Needs

In an effort to assess what the respondents perceive to be the most pressing personal and neighborhood needs, they were asked to rate the first five most important needs from a list of possible areas of concern. The answer to this question could then be used by service organizations to plan for programs to meet these needs. A problem arose, however, when 30% of the Filipinos, 22% of the Japanese, and 13% of the Chinese did not do any rating, claiming that they do not have any personal needs, and that

they do not know what the neighborhood needs are. Of those who did rate, the following gives the most frequently chosen personal and neighborhood needs:

| Chinese | Needs | |
|---|---|---|
| | Personal | Neighborhood |
| 1st most frequently picked need | Police protection | Police protection |
| 2nd most frequently picked need | Medical care | Bilingual services |
| 3rd most frequently picked need | Bilingual services | Medical care |
| **Japanese** | | |
| 1st most frequently picked need | Transportation | Services for elderly |
| 2nd most frequently picked need | Police protection | Police protection |
| 3rd most frequently picked need | Medical care | Transportation |
| **Filipino** | | |
| 1st most frequently picked need | Transportation | Police protection |
| 2nd most frequently picked need | Police protection | Transportation |
| 3rd most frequently picked need | Employment | Recreation |

The perceived personal and neighborhood needs coincide generally with what is known of the objective conditions of each group. More police protection is the one theme running throughout the ratings of all three groups. Considering the Southside area where the Chinese and Japanese samples live, it is understandable why police protection is felt to be necessary. The crime rate of Southside, like the crime rate of any downtown area, is higher than in the more suburban areas of Sacramento.

For the Chinese, conditions such as the lowest income of the three groups, larger households living in smaller apartments, and a large population of non-English speaking immigrants, contribute to the community's

health problems. This problem appears to be common to most Chinatowns, even though the magnitude of the problem in Sacramento is nowhere near the proportions of say, Chinatowns of San Francisco and New York. With the percentage of Chinese who cannot speak nor understand English, it is not surprising that bilingual services is one of the highest rated needs. Respondents who chose this as their highest priority suggested that they would like to see a centralized referral service serving Southside. In conclusion, the Chinese appear to be very aware of the needs of the community, and are the least hesitant to talk about them and to suggest possible solutions. These results contradict what other researchers have found to be the extreme reluctance of the Chinese to discuss their problems with outsiders.

Other than police protection, the Japanese indicated services for the elderly, transportation, and medical care as the most important personal and neighborhood needs. As noted earlier, the Japanese sample has the highest number of elderly widows/widowers and single men and women. The sample also has the lowest percentage of families owning cars. Most of these old single Japanese people comprise the proportion of families not having cars or driver's licenses. Thus, services for the elderly is related to the need for transportation. Some of the elderly Japanese indicated the need for assistance with daily tasks, such as buying groceries. Medical care for these old people becomes a problem when transportation is not available. Again, the Japanese expressed the desire to have home visits on a regular basis from a doctor or nurse. The central problem, however, is transportation, for once transportation is provided, the other problems should be ameliorated.

From what is known of the Filipino sample, transportation should not be a major problem as indicated in their ratings. Only 10% of the families, the lowest of the three groups, do not own a car. Employment has a high priority in the ratings of the Filipinos. Using the Caucasians as a reference group, the employment situation of the Filipinos is less than satisfactory with many of those interviewed only employed on a part-time basis. The Filipino respondents also expressed the need for recreation programs, especially for youth and the elderly.

Programs to meet these needs should be planned for by the social service organizations in Sacramento. Programs may already exist, but may not be seen as directly available to the Asians, in which case the agencies should attempt to make their programs more accessible. For example, organizations can publicize their programs more effectively by advertising in Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, and provide bilingual services.

The Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos in the sample are quite willing to take an active part in organizing for help for their community. Twenty-eight percent of the Chinese, 25% of the Japanese, and 30% of the Filipinos who responded to the ratings indicated that Asians of the community should take the initiative to do something about neighborhood needs. Nine percent of the Chinese, 51% of the Japanese, and 15% of the Filipinos said that people of the community together with outside help should take the initiative.

Another indicator of their willingness is given by the answers to the question, "How willing are you to work with other Asians in organizing and operating self-help groups in your neighborhood?" A tabulation of the responses is given in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4

Willingness to Work with Other Asians in Organizing and Operating Neighborhood Self-Help Groups by Ethnicity

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very willing | 4% | 4% | 16% |
| Willing | 44% | 23% | 46% |
| Neutral | 13% | 29% | 23% |
| Unwilling | 16% | 14% | 1% |
| Very unwilling | 6% | 1% | 0% |
| Don't know | 5% | 26% | 14% |
| Unwilling for reason | 12% | 3% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

As can be seen from the table, in each group, the proportion of people who are willing or very willing far outweighs the proportion who are unwilling or very unwilling. The Filipinos indicated the most interest in the idea of self-help groups, working with other Asians. They are also the most oriented toward making use of the social services available. These appear to be two related aspects of the same attitude. A number of Chinese explained why they are unwilling. Some of the reasons given are: lack of transportation, physical disability, advanced age. From the data, it can be gathered that the potential for organizing the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos exists, for they are aware of their community problems and are willing to do something about it. It may even be desirable to organize them as one group, thus making more efficient use of available resources. The question is--Why are they not more organized? The answer lies partially in the fact that there are few recognized "leaders" to act as catalyzing agents. Over 90% of each group reported that there is no one whom they consider a leader in their neighborhood.

Acceptance of Other Asians

The willingness to cooperate with other Asians to organize self-help groups is actually contingent on two different elements: 1) the desire to organize and operate self-help groups, and 2) the acceptance of other Asians to the point of working together with them. An assessment of the second element is provided by what is essentially a Bogardus social distance scale. Each of the three groups was asked to rate the other two in terms of their acceptability as fellow employees, as neighbors, as personal friends, and as kin in marriage. Substantial differences emerged from the ratings. The Chinese rated the Japanese and the Filipinos similarly. Their acceptability decreases from approximately 94% to 76% from employees to friends. After this, a break occurs with approximately only 33% of the Chinese approving of intermarriage with either the Japanese or Filipinos. The Filipino rating of the Chinese and Japanese is again similar. Their acceptability as employees, neighbors and friends does not change drastically, from about 76% to 74% approval in each category. A similar break occurs as far as marriage is concerned: 57% approve of marriage with either the Chinese or the Japanese. The Japanese sample differs considerably in their perception of the Chinese and Filipinos: 82% said that they would accept Chinese as neighbors, but only 52% said they would admit them as friends, and 31% would admit them in marriage. The corresponding percentages for the acceptability of Filipinos are: 54% as neighbors, 32% as friends, and 16% in marriage.

As can be seen from the discussion, there is some intergroup prejudice among Asians. The younger generation hoping to build an "Asian" identity (opposed to a "Chinese," "Japanese," or "Filipino" one) should consider this. If an "Asian" identity does not include intermarriage

within different Asian groups as a necessary component, then judging from the data, the adult generation are hopeful recruits for the movement.

Ethnic Identity

At a time when creating a positive identity is very much the concern of different racial groups in America, the adult Asians appear to have very firmly established ideas of who they are, and how they stand in relation to American culture. The label an individual uses in reference to himself is usually indicative of the type of self-concept he has. Consider the responses to the following question:

TABLE 4.5

Ethnic Identity of the Chinese, Japanese and Filipinos

| Do you consider yourself: | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chinese, Japanese, or Filipino | 83% | 52% | 57% |
| Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Filipino-American | 15% | 44% | 34% |
| Asian American | 1% | 1% | 0% |
| American | 1% | 3% | 4% |
| Other | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

Eighty-three percent of the Chinese in the sample call themselves "Chinese," while only 1% call themselves "American." Fifty-two percent of the Japanese sample refer to themselves as "Japanese," and only 3% as "American." The Filipinos have approximately the same percentages in these categories as the Japanese. These figures are surprising when one

considers that 99% of the respondents said that they consider the U. S. their permanent home.

It is interesting to explore the reasons why most Asians retain their ethnic identity. Number of generations in the U. S. probably has a lot to do with it, and most of the Chinese are first generation. Prejudice and discrimination by the dominant group tend to set a minority group apart as outsiders. It could be that Asians who call themselves "Americans" under such circumstances would have a difficult time justifying why they are not Americans to other Americans. If this is a reason, then Asians who consider themselves Chinese, Japanese or Filipino are simply withdrawing from a competitive situation into a second choice self-concept. Data from the interview do not support this position. Instead, Asians subscribe to the idea of cultural pluralism. They may want what Gordon called "structural assimilation" into the white society. They may want to enter into "the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society." But they do not want to be culturally assimilated by abandoning their own culture and adopting wholesale American culture. The following tables illustrate this point:

TABLE 4.6

Desire to Retain Their Own Culture by Ethnicity

Do you think that the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos should retain all, most, part, or none of their culture?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| All | 25% | 12% | 15% |
| Most | 62% | 67% | 70% |
| Part | 12% | 21% | 15% |
| None | 1% | 0% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

TABLE 4.7

Desire to Adopt American Culture by Ethnicity

Do you think that the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos should adopt all, most, part, or none of the American culture?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| All | 7% | 16% | 6% |
| Most | 40% | 67% | 15% |
| Part | 53% | 17% | 76% |
| None | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| | 100% (n-226) | 100% (n=153) | 100% (n=82) |

It can be maintained that in retaining most of their own culture, they may be hampered in their entrance to the dominant society. But it is questionable whether this or their physical characteristics and skin color are the more deciding factor. Warner claimed that physical characteristics present the greatest obstacle. Besides, it is the experience of the Blacks and Chicanos that cultural assimilation without the concurrent structural assimilation creates identity confusion. It is the test of the older generation of Asians that they be able to maintain and transmit their distinct cultural identity to the younger generation.

## V. THE CHILDREN'S DATA

The children's sample is very small, so the conclusions drawn are necessarily tentative. Only 50 Chinese, 12 Japanese, and 10 Filipino children were interviewed.* It is obvious from the age distribution (Table 5.1) of the sample that the label of "children" is hardly appropriate for some. However, this term will be used for the sake of simplicity to distinguish them from the adult sample.

TABLE 5.1
Age Distribution of the Children's Sample

| Age | Percentage |
|---|---|
| 13-19 | 47% |
| 20-29 | 50% |
| 30-32 | 3% |
| | 100% (n=72) |

Fifty-four percent of the sample are male; all but one are single. The Japanese sample has the highest proportion of third generation. This distribution is given in Table 5.2.

*To remind the reader of the small number of respondents on which the percentages are based, the numbers corresponding to the percentages will be given in parentheses right after the percentage figures.

TABLE 5.2

Generational Distribution of the Children's Sample

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st generation | 52% | 25% | 50% |
| 2nd generation | 42% | 8% | 50% |
| 3rd generation | 6% | 67% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) |

The following broad areas of interest will be discussed in this section: 1) the question of adjustment and communication between generations, 2) performance of children in school, 3) intergenerational change in identity, and other attitudes and values.

Intergenerational Communication and Adjustment

It is often the experience of immigrant parents that their children growing up in the U. S. become acculturated to the extent that it produces adjustment problems between them. The children may feel uneasy with the way their parents behave and dress, for example. Or they may rebel against the authority their "backward" parents have over them. More recently, researches have shown that Asian children may actually resent their parents for being so acculturated. Whatever the reason, the concensus appears to be that problems may arise.

Judging from the data of this sample, not only are there few indications of adjustment problems, but the children seem to get along quite well with their parents. To a large extent, adjustment problems can be reduced to problems of communication between the generations. The language used, whether it is English or other languages, has a great deal to do

with how well parents and children communicate. Accordingly, data on language patterns will be examined. Sixty-eight percent (34) of the Chinese children indicated that they speak fluent Chinese,showing that the Chinese parents are somewhat successful in retaining and transmitting their language to their children. The percentage of Japanese and Filipino children who speak fluent Japanese and Filipino is the same as the percentage of foreign-born: 25% (3) and 50% (5). When asked what language they used to communicate with their parents, 66% (33) of the Chinese, 25% (3) of the Japanese, and 10% (1) of the Filipinos said they use their own native tongue. Twenty-two percent (11) of the Chinese, 42% (5) of the Japanese and 60% (6) of the Filipinos use both English and their native tongue. Native language is used here to mean Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino, even though strictly speaking, English can be the native tongue. It follows from these figures that most of the children reported that they generally communicate well or very well with their parents. None of the children said that they communicate poorly, and only 2% (1) of the Chinese, 8% (1) of the Japanese, and 10% (1) of the Filipinos responded "not so well." Below is a table of the replies to the question:

TABLE 5.3

Children's Ability to Communicate with Parents

| In general, how well can you communicate with your parents? | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Very well | 38% | 25% | 50% |
| Well | 60% | 67% | 40% |
| Not so well | 2% | 8% | 10% |
| Poorly | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) |

Education

Because of the composition of our sample with its large proportion of foreign-born children, some problems may arise with respect to their education in the U. S. First, these children may be handicapped by their inability to speak and understand English as well as the other children in school. Secondly, since education is a major avenue for upward mobility, immigrant as well as non-immigrant parents generally expect their children to do well in school,and later to attend college. However, the foreign-born Asian student may find it difficult to keep up in American schools and the resulting pressure to excel may cause the child to lose interest in school work altogether. The discrepancy between the parents' expectation and the child's performance may also be a cause of tension in immigrant families. Some of these issues will be examined.

Eighty-two percent (41) of the Chinese and all of the Japanese and Filipinos in this sample responded that they speak English fluently, so language does not appear to be a problem here. Four percent (2) of the Chinese and 10% (1) of the Filipinos have not completed the 8th grade. Because of the definition of "children", all but one of the sample is over 15, and those who have not completed 8th grade can be considered as "drop-outs". (The exception is a 13-year-old Japanese who wanted to be interviewed.) Sixty-two percent (31) of the Chinese and 60% (6) of the Filipinos have had some college or have completed college. Ten percent (5) of the Chinese and 10% (1) of the Filipinos are in or have been in graduate school. The educational achievement of these children seems to be above average.

TABLE 5.4

Comparison of Parents' Educational Plans for Children and Children's Plans for Themselves

| | Chinese | | Japanese | | Filipino | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *C | **P | C | P | C | P |
| 1. Graduate school or professional degree | 36% | 32% | 42% | 25% | 30% | 60% |
| 2. Some graduate school | 18% | 16% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| 3. Graduate from four-year college | 26% | 38% | 25% | 33% | 60% | 10% |
| 4. Some college | 12% | 8% | 0% | 9% | 0% | 10% |
| 5. Grade school | 2% | 0% | 8% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| 6. High school | 0% | 0% | 0% | 8% | 10% | 10% |
| 7. Quit high school | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| 8. Don't know/ no answer | 6% | 6% | 25% | 25% | 0% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) | 100% (n=10) |

*C = Children's educational plans
**P = Parents' educational plans for their children

The children's expectation of themselves is generally higher than their parents' expectation of them in the Chinese and Japanese samples. There is a discrepancy, however, between the Filipino parents' and their children's aspirations for educational attainment. Their parents appear to have very high expectations--60% (6) of them desiring their children to finish graduate school. This figure does not directly represent the parents' expectation so much as the children's perception of their parents' expectation. The accuracy of the children's perception is questionable. It should be remembered that the Filipinos have the highest percentage of those who said that they do not communicate with their parents well. This may have contributed to their perhaps biased perception of their parents' expectation.

Most of the children indicated an interest in their school work. Only 20% of the Chinese and no Japanese or Filipinos expressed total disinterest. Most of the children stated that the amount of education will have a lot to do with being a success.

Identity Change

Inevitably, the sense of ethnic identity diminishes from one generation to the next, as children of an immigrant group are educated and socialized to function in the dominant group's culture. The question is one of the magnitude of change. Some very interesting impressions can be gained from examining the answer to the question of identity.

TABLE 5.5

Ethnic Identity of the Children

| Do you consider yourself: | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chinese, Japanese, Filipino | 60% | 17% | 40% |
| Chinese-American, Japanese-American, Filipino-American | 24% | 67% | 50% |
| Asian American | 16% | 8% | 0% |
| American | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| Other | 0% | 8% | 10% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) |

There is a loss of the distinctiveness of the ethnic identity, but a gain in a bicultural identity, comprised of the ethnic plus the American identity as can be seen from the percentage of children in the second category. The logical path from being a Chinese-American, Japanese-American, or Filipino-American may be to being an American, if assimilation is considered as the ultimate goal, or to being an Asian American if cultural

pluralism and a Third World movement is considered the goal. A small portion of the Asian children chose the second alternative. Sixteen percent (8) of the Chinese and 8% (1) of the Japanese label themselves Asian American. None chose the first, making an interesting contrast to their parents, where at least a small percentage consider themselves American (1%, Chinese; 3%, Japanese; and 4%, Filipino).

This slight shift in their identity can further be seen in the following tables.

TABLE 5.6

Children's Desire to Retain Their Own Ethnic Culture

Do you think that the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos should retain all, most, part, or none of their culture?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| All | 4% | 0% | 20% |
| Most | 60% | 58% | 60% |
| Part | 34% | 42% | 20% |
| None | 2% | 0% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) |

TABLE 5.7

Children's Desire to Adopt American Culture

Do you think that the Chinese Japanese and Filipinos should adopt all, most, part, or none of the American culture?

| | Chinese | Japanese | Filipino |
|---|---|---|---|
| All | 4% | 8% | 0% |
| Most | 38% | 50% | 10% |
| Part | 58% | 33% | 90% |
| None | 0% | 9% | 0% |
| | 100% (n=50) | 100% (n=12) | 100% (n=10) |

All are more cautious or more selective in their desire to retain their own culture than their parents (except for the Filipinos where there is a 5% increase in the "all" category, but also a 10% decrease in the "most" category). This caution is matched in their intention to adopt American culture. They are less enthusiastic than their parents; fewer of them think that they should adopt all or most of the American culture. Considering the pressures to conform and to acculturate by the dominant society, it is rather surprising that these children possess this strong sense of identity. On the other hand, these data may also be an indication of their desire rather than their reality. It is possible that these children are in fact fairly acculturated to the American way.

Attitude toward Discrimination, Welfare, and Cooperation with Other Asians

The Chinese children appear to be less aware of discrimination than their parents. These children have certain advantages that their parents do not have; for example, their familiarity with the English language, their level of education, etc. In the Japanese and Filipino samples, there is indication of a slight increase in awareness. However, a comparison among the three groups shows that the proportion of Chinese aware of the problem of discrimination is higher than either the Japanese or the Filipino.

On the whole, the children's attitude toward welfare services is more liberal than their parents'. Fewer of them agreed with the statement that "most Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos take care of their own and do not need welfare services." It is interesting to note that socialization effects are very apparent. In other words, the children tend to replicate the direction of their parents' attitudes. For example, more of the

Filipino adults agreed with this statement than either the Chinese or Japanese. The Filipino children also tended to agree with this statement more.

The Chinese and Filipino children expressed more willingness than their parents to work with other Asian groups to organize and operate self-help groups. The Japanese indicated more of an unwillingness. It is difficult to explain why this is so. Perhaps, because of the large number of third generation in the group, they represent a more assimilated group than the others.

Again, it should be stressed that all the children's data are based on a very small sample. Any conclusion drawn is necessarily limited. With this more than with the adult sample, the possibilities of self-selection were much greater, and it is difficult to consider this a random sample.

## CONCLUSION

This project was undertaken, not only to gather information on the conditions of Asians in Sacramento, but also to provide impetus for action necessary to build a strong and viable Asian community. Profiles of the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have been drawn from the interviews and common problems located within their profiles: low income and educational level, and high unemployment rate. Problems which are specific to each group have also been identified; for example, the lack of facility with the English language in the Chinese community, and the large proportion of elderly people who are without transportation in the Japanese community. These profiles indicate that all three groups need various social services, some of which are already offered by existing organizations.

It is not possible to make an evaluation of how fully Asians are utilizing these services unless they can be compared to other minority groups with similar profiles. However, a comparison can be made within the three groups and a conclusion reached; i.e., that the group--the Chinese--confronting the most problems, is the one least efficiently using these services. It reflects, partially, a failure in the delivery system of these organizations. Basically, this delivery system is not geared to serving the Asian community. The system can be improved through providing bilingual services, hiring more Asian personnel, and publicizing their available services in the Asian community.

The problem, however, cannot be resolved wholly by changing certain features of these service organizations. Attitudinal constraints within

each Asian group also inhibit them from utilizing the existing services as fully as possible. These constraints are discussed in Section III. The recognition of discrimination and of the bonds between all minority groups exist to a certain extent in all three groups. To varying degrees, they also subscribe to the myth of the successful and integrated Asian. Accordingly, changes have to be made both within the service organizations and those groups requiring services.

A complementary answer to the problem of delivering social services is to mobilize the community itself to confront its problems. The potential for organizing the Asian community exists. The majority are aware of the needs of their own community and are willing to take an initiative in acting on them.

A cautionary note should be inserted here that the comments made in this report are applicable to Asians in Sacramento only. With little comparable research data, it is difficult to determine to what extent these results are generalizable to Asians in other parts of the United States.

The question remains as to the respective responsibility of the people and the system to each other. A distinction should be made at this point between economic and cultural resources. Like all minority groups, Asians are low on economic resources, but they are by no means deprived of cultural resources. Indeed, Asians have a strong desire to retain their own culture and identity. Society is responsible to the extent of providing people with the basic and adequate economic resources to meet their needs, but it should not impose what it considers viable cultural solutions. Given the baseline of economic resources, Asians can mobilize their cultural resources to challenge and remake their own reality.

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